

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 27 July 1965, at 3 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. S.K. TSARAPKIN

(Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A. CORREA de LAGO
Mr. D. SILVEIRA da MOTA
Mr. C.H. PAULINO PRATES

Bulgaria:

Mr. C. LUKANOV
Mr. Y. GOLEMANOV
Mr. T. DAMIANOV
Mr. D. KOSTOV

Burma:

U MAUNG MAUNG GYI

Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS
Mr. S.F. RAE
Mr. C.J. MARSHALL
Mr. P.D. LEE

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. Z. CERNIK
Mr. V. VAJNAR
Mr. R. KLEIN

Ethiopia:

Lij M. IMRU

India:

Mr. V.C. TRIVEDI
Mr. K.P. LUKOSE

Italy:

Mr. F. CAVALLETTI
Mr. E. GUIDOTTI
Mr. S. AVETTA
Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI

Mexico:

Mr. A. GOMEZ ROBLEDO
Mr. M. TELLO MACIAS

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (Cont'd)

Nigeria:

Mr. L.C.N. OBI

Mr. C.C. ADESOLA

Mr. G.O. OJO

Poland:

Mr. A. MELLER-CONRAD

Mr. E. STANIEWSKI

Mr. A. SKOWRONSKI

Romania:

Mr. V. DUMITRESCU

Mr. E. GLASER

Mr. C. UNGUREANU

Mr. I. MINZATU

Sweden:

Mrs. A. MYRDAL

Mr. P. HAMMARSKJOLD

Mr. B. VEGESACK

Mr. J. PRAWITZ

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. S.K. TSARAPKIN

Mr. Y.M. VORONTSOV

Mr. V.N. BENDRYSHEV

Mr. S.A. BCGOMOLOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. A. OSMAN

Mr. M. KASSEM

United Kingdom:

Lord CHALFONT

Sir Harold BEELEY

Mr. J.G. TAHOURDIN

Mr. P.W.J. BUXTON

PRESENT AT THE TABLE (Cont'd)

United States of America:

Mr. W.C. FOSTER

Mr. C.H. TIMBERLAKE

Mr. D.S. MACDONALD

Mr. W.A. HAYNE

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General:

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

Under-Secretary, Director
of the European Office

Mr. P.P. SPINELLI

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

I declare open the two hundred and eighteenth plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

In accordance with established procedure at the opening of the Conference, the first part of this meeting will be open.

I call on Mr. Protitch, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Mr. PROTITCH (Special Representative of the Secretary-General): On behalf of the Secretary-General, U Thant, I have the privilege again of welcoming the delegations to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to the European Headquarters of the United Nations.

I also have the honour to convey to the Conference the following message from the Secretary-General:

"The very resumption of the Conference at this time has already contributed to the raising of hopes that, notwithstanding mounting dangers, there is recognition of the imperative need to renew efforts and pursue with diligence the possibilities for progress towards disarmament and peace.

"During the long recess the Members of the United Nations had an opportunity in the Disarmament Commission to review the last report of the Conference. The thorough deliberations in the Commission and the realistic assessment of the situation should provide a sound basis upon which to chart the course for your present and future negotiations.

"The texts of the two resolutions adopted by the Commission have already been formally transmitted to this Conference and are before you in document ENDC/149; both resolutions were adopted by overwhelming majorities.

"It seems fair to say that a consensus developed in this Commission around the idea that agreement on disarmament can be significantly promoted by the policies and participation of both large and small nations, nuclear and non-nuclear alike. There was also general acceptance of the idea that partial measures and limited steps offer the best chance of success, although opinions differ as to the respective measures. The resolution contained in

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

We have just heard a message of very important substance from the Secretary-General of the United Nations. I should now like to say a few words as Chairman of today's meeting.

Over ten months ago the disarmament negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Committee were interrupted in a state of stagnation and deadlock, in an atmosphere of pessimism. In its report to the General Assembly of the United Nations the Committee was compelled to note that it had not reached any concrete agreements either on questions of general and complete disarmament or on measures aimed at relaxing international tension. Thus the Committee recognized that the state of the disarmament negotiations was unsatisfactory. No advantage had been taken of the favourable opportunities for progress in disarmament negotiations which had been opened as a result of the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space (ENDC/100/Rev.1).

At that time many a warning was uttered in the world lest the Moscow Treaty should prove an isolated event on the road to disarmament and lest this initial success should come to an end, and the view was expressed that it should be strengthened and developed by agreements on other questions, whether on general and complete disarmament or on measures aimed at curbing the arms race and reducing international tension. But none of this has come to pass. The forces of imperialism which oppose disarmament and are against reducing international tension are stubbornly striving to turn the course of events in the very opposite direction. This is clearly shown by the events of the last few years in Viet-Nam, in the Congo and in Latin America, the peoples of which have become victims of imperialist aggression.

So the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament is resuming its work in extremely difficult circumstances, at a time when the advocates of a policy "from a position of strength" have succeeded in halting and reversing the movement towards disarmament which had set in. The whole world is a witness to the fact that, instead of armaments being reduced, their production is being stepped up. Instead of the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons, plans are being pushed through for the creation of a NATO nuclear force; instead of armed forces being reduced, they are being increased. There are plans for a partial mobilization of reservists. Preparations for a big war are going on at full speed. And those who are engaged in this are, of course, not interested in disarmament.

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(The Chairman, USSR)

Everybody realizes that all these facts and circumstances are serious obstacles on the road to disarmament. Of course, we may be asked: why then has the Eighteen-Nation Committee met? Will it be able to achieve anything positive in these unfavourable circumstances of a worsening of the international situation? Hardly anyone will deny that it is precisely at this anxious moment that increased efforts should be made in every direction in order to prevent any further menacing development of events in the world, to replace the policy of war with a policy of peace, and to reach agreement on practicable measures for disarmament and relaxation in international relations.

Time does not wait. Delay is very dangerous. It is essential that the Committee should, without further procrastination, adopt concrete decisions both on the problem of general and complete disarmament and on measures aimed at limiting the arms race and reducing tension in international relations. The Committee has before it more than enough proposals on that score. The Committee must begin to act and stop marking time. Otherwise, like its predecessors, it will be compromised in the eyes of the peoples, who are yearning for peace.

I should now like to announce an adjournment for a few minutes, after which the Committee will resume its meeting.

The meeting was suspended at 3.25 p.m. and resumed at 3.35 p.m.

The CHAIRMAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian):

The work of the Committee is resumed. Before calling on the speakers on my list, I should like to welcome all representatives and all delegations in our Committee, especially those representatives who are attending the Conference for the first time: the Ambassador of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Zdenek Cernik; the United Kingdom Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Chalfont; the representative of Poland, Mr. Adam Meller-Conrad; and the representative of India, Mr. Trivedi, who has returned to this Committee after a period of absence. I also have pleasure in greeting the Director of the European Office of the United Nations, Mr. Spinelli, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Protitch.

There is only one speaker on my list: the representative of the United States, Mr. Foster, on whom I now call.

Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): The business of this Conference is peace. Frankly, Mr. Chairman, I deplore the fact that you, as representative of the Soviet Union, today took advantage of your privilege as Chairman to make an attack upon the foreign policy of my country in your statement in the public part of this meeting.

This Committee is dedicated to the proposition that a lasting peace cannot be based on military strength and that the security of nations in the nuclear age requires co-operative international efforts to control and limit the production and spread of nuclear weapons. But as long as the world is plagued by aggression, as long as force is used or threatened against the territorial integrity and political independence of States in South-East Asia and elsewhere, countries must look to their own defences.

The many forms which this force has taken were described in President Johnson's letter (ENDC/119) of 18 January 1964 to Mr. Khrushchev. Force can be direct or indirect. It can be in the form of aggression, subversion or the clandestine supply of arms. In his message (ENDC/120) of 21 January 1964 to this Committee, the President pointed out the importance of making progress on means of prohibiting the threat or use of force for the purposes of aggression. This task, as events during the past year have emphasized, remains a fundamental endeavour for nations which wish to secure and preserve international peace and advance the pace of progress in disarmament. If we are to live in peace with each other we must do more than proclaim peace as our goal. We must develop the customs and rules for living together in peace.

We meet at a time of increased tension. As we sit here, troops, military supplies and subversive agents directed and provided by outside Powers are engaged in an effort to seize control of a country whose only offence is its determination to live in peace and freedom. My country and others have made repeated efforts to secure the peaceful settlement of all disputes as regards the Viet-Nam conflict. President Johnson proposed to negotiate towards a peaceful settlement without any pre-conditions, and we have attempted repeatedly to bring the other side to the negotiating table, but each overture has been rejected. Meanwhile, men and arms continue to infiltrate across the frontier and the other side continues its slaughter of thousands of civilians and its blowing-up of schools, hotels, hospitals and buses.

(Mr. Foster, United States)

For all those reasons, we are determined to meet our commitments to collective defence of Viet-Nam. To do so, we will do what is necessary and only what is necessary. Let there be no mistake about the firmness of our purpose to resist this aggression until the aggressors agree to seek a solution around the conference table. But we are equally firm in our determination to make every reasonable effort to reach agreement on arms control and reduction measures. The dangers posed by the arms race, and particularly the threatened proliferation of nuclear weapons, will not wait until the guns are stilled. We dare not lose contact with the work of peace while we strive to end the destruction of war.

The steadily-mounting nuclear stockpiles in the United States and the Soviet Union do not ensure the security of any nation, and the spread of nuclear weapons to additional countries threatens the security of all. The United States therefore attaches supreme importance to the opportunity afforded here to undertake serious negotiations leading to the earliest possible accords on measures to curb the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to begin to turn back the arms race. We have come here with this sole purpose in mind, and the world will be satisfied with nothing less than a supreme effort by every Government represented here to reach such accords.

It is in this spirit that President Johnson has addressed the following message to the Conference^{1/}:

"I send my greetings to the members of the Disarmament Committee as they renew the most important task on earth.

"The Bible describes 'death' as the fourth horseman of the Apocalypse saying: 'And hell followed after him.' Our genius has changed this from a parable to a possibility. For the wasting power of our weapons is beyond the reach of imagination and language alike. Hell alone can describe the consequences that await their full use.

"Therefore, if we love man, nothing is more important than the effort to diminish danger -- halt the spread of nuclear power -- and bring the weapons of war under increasing control.

^{1/} Circulated as Document ENDC/150.

(Mr. Foster, United States)

"Many proposals to this end now sit on your conference table. My delegation, and others, will make new proposals as the Conference continues.

"I have instructed the American delegation to pursue the following objectives with all the determination and wisdom they can command:

"First, to seek agreements that will limit the perilous spread of nuclear weapons, and make it possible for all countries to refrain without fear from entering the nuclear arms race.

"Second, to work toward the effective limitation of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery systems, so that we can diminish present danger as well as prevent expanding peril.

"Third, to work for a truly comprehensive test-ban treaty.

"Many nations will, and should, share in these discussions.

"No difference among any of us, on any other issue, can be allowed to bar agreement in this critical area. This is not in any single nation's interest, nor is it in the interest of the multitude of nations and peoples whose future is so tied to the good sense of those at this conference table.

"My nation is ready. If others are equally prepared, then we can move, with growing confidence, toward the light."

The first point of President Johnson's message is to seek agreements to limit the perilous spread of nuclear weapons.

My Government supported the United Nations Disarmament Commission's call upon this Committee to -

"... accord special priority to the consideration of the question of a treaty or convention to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons ..." (DC/225, page 2; ENDC/149)

The United States recommends that this session engage in a renewed and intensive effort to achieve a mutually-acceptable treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. Such an agreement could follow and be consistent with the Irish resolution adopted unanimously by the 1961 General Assembly (A/RES/ 1665 (XVI)). A non-proliferation agreement could be the beginning of increased security for all States. Indeed, while turning our attention to the problem of proliferation we must also consider the security of nations that forgo nuclear weapons. The President of the United States indicated his awareness of this problem when in October 1964 he stated:

(Mr. Foster, United States)

"The nations that do not seek national nuclear weapons can be sure that, if they need our strong support against some threat of nuclear blackmail, then they will have it."

The question of the security of non-nuclear States is an important one. It should be considered fully as part of the response of the international community to the danger of nuclear proliferation. As a further part of the international community's response to the dangers of proliferation we should make greater use of the International Atomic Energy Agency -- the agency we have set up to facilitate the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes -- and at the same time provide safeguards against diversion of such programmes to military purposes. For that reason we urge that, as a part of the non-proliferation effort, all governments undertake to accept IAEA or similar international safeguards in all their peaceful nuclear activities. This is an undertaking which should be assumed both by those countries which have developed nuclear weapons and by those which have kept their nuclear activities confined to the peaceful field.

Under its statute the International Atomic Energy Agency has two aims: to assist in promoting the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and to ensure that this assistance does not further any military purpose. The work of the IAEA has long been an area of close co-operation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Their efforts together with those of other member countries have produced a comprehensive system of international safeguards designed to prevent the diversion of nuclear materials produced in peaceful reactors to military purposes. This system was extended last year to large reactors. The first such reactor to which the expanded safeguards were applied was in the United States -- at Rowe, Massachusetts --; and the United Kingdom has recently invited the IAEA to apply these safeguards to one of its large power reactors. These actions were consistent with President Johnson's proposal to this Committee last year (ENDC/120) that the nuclear Powers accept in an increasing number of their own peaceful nuclear activities the same inspection as recommended for other States.

The United States believes that the Agency's continuing efforts to ensure that peaceful atomic activities are not diverted to military purposes are of paramount importance in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. We suggest that all those interested in pursuing that objective give full support to the Agency's effective work. As I said earlier, we urge that all governments undertake to accept IAEA or similar international safeguards in all their peaceful nuclear activities.